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T H E
Political Free-Thinker,

Being an impartial and dispassionate

E N Q U I R Y

Into the Grounds of our

Foreign and Domestic BROILS,

And particularly of the

Present REBELLION.

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C A L C U L A T E D

To remove the Prejudices, and dissipate the
Fears and Apprehensions of the People.

*Inscribed to all those Nobles and Gentlemen who have
been in the Opposition.*

By a COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

The SECOND EDITION.

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Political Free-Thinker

ENQUIRY

Political and Economic Enquiry

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T has been the Misfortune of of this Island, for these many Ages past, that it has always been divided by Parties of different Kinds, who have each in their Turns, endeavoured to inflame the Minds of the People, whom they wanted to make Dupes of, to answer their private Views, and to execute the several little selfish Schemes which they had projected for their own Advancement.

THE Publick Good, or the Interest of the People, has been always pretended, as the main Design of all their Labours. The greatest Tyrants, the greatest Enemies to the Publick Peace, and those who brought our Constitution the nearest to Destruction, still pretended to be Patriots; proclaimed themselves the Champions of Liberty, and endeavoured to perswade the Nation, that her Happiness was their only Aim.

EVEN these had their Advocates to sound their Praises, and blind the Ignorant; venal Pens, who endeavoured to explain Acts of Tyranny and Oppression into Acts of Clemency and Justice; who could palliate the most enormous Crimes, excuse the grossest Blunders, and make Sense and Nonsense Terms synonymous, as it suited their wretched Purpose.

THUS the Generality of the People has been kept in profound Ignorance of their real Interest and Situation, as being incapable to distinguish Truth from the Sophistry in which their political Leaders had so long bewildered them; without any other Criterion,

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to judge of their Circumstances by, but their Feeling ; a Period, that is frequently too late, as it seldom leaves them any other Cure for their Misfortunes but Patience, enforced by Necessity.

IT is true, there have still been some who have really known their Circumstances, and have taken Pains to inform the Publick of many unwelcome Truths ; who have represented Things as they were at the Time, and pointed out with Abundance of Sagacity the future Effects of Measures they approved of : But these have either had no Effect, or a quite different one from what the Publick ought to expect.

THEY produced no Effect, either because writ in a quarrelous carping Style, which seemed to flow rather from Passion, than a sober Conviction of Matters of Fact ; to be the Effect of Envy, or at best a splenetick discontented Spirit : Or that the Disposition of the Writers, or those whose Sentiments they espoused, were known to be mercenary ; and that all their Clamour proceeded from Disappointments in Preferment, not from any generous

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Sense of the National Misfortunes they would seem so much to bewail ; and consequently, that if their Avarice or Ambition was gratified, they would then be as silent as the Grave, and perhaps applaud those very Measures they now so much condemn.

THIS the Publick, who can see and judge of Facts of this Kind without the Help of an Expositor, has so often experienced in the Persons of our once seeming greatest Patriots, that, like common Lyars, though they speak Truths never so plain, they are seldom believed.

THE Publick has been so often bubbled by specious Pretences of this Kind, that they have justly imbibed a Prejudice against all Political Writers whatever : They look upon all of them as Quacks and Empiricks ; and suppose, that, if there is any Good in them, it must be by Chance, as the Specificks of these *Physical Militia* cure.

AND there is one Circumstance which strengthens this Prejudice, and at the same time brings it fresh into the Memory of every Reader :

Reader : That is, That it is scarce possible to see any Controversy of a Political Nature carried on, but it is stuff'd with Personal Intercalations ; the Ministry and their Downfal is still the Burthen of the Song : 'Tis impossible to argue upon the slightest Matter of Fact, but the Dispute must end in a Reflection upon them. If any Incident happens, for which it is impossible for their Invention to blame them, (which is indeed but very seldom) the Author treats that with all the Calmness imaginable, or perhaps slips it over without any Notice, tho' very Material to the *professed* Design of his Writing ; but if he can by any Means, by the most distant Conclusion, charge it upon the Ministry, his Gall rises, and he employs the strongest Colouring to exaggerate a Trifle, and represent to the Publick a Mole-hill as a Mountain.

THOSE Writers, at their first setting out, imagine to themselves, and endeavour to impress the Publick with the Notion, that a Ministry ought to be impeccable ; nay more, that they ought to be omniscient, and omnipotent, and consequently infallible : They would deprive them of every Passion, of every
Failing,

Failing the most innocent that is ingrafted in Human Nature ; and impute it to them as a Crime, that they act like Men, not as Divinities.

WE have in our Time seen a Minister (who had, God knows, real Crimes in Abundance to answer for) charged with the Acts of Providence, and clamoured against, because he could not, like a God, command the Winds and Weather, or foresee their natural Changes. When we find an Author loading the Ministry with such imaginary Crimes, the Product of an over-heated Brain, we are naturally led to suspect those other Facts which perhaps may be true ; and in all Events we must have a mean Opinion of his Judgment ; we must treat him like a mere Critick, who hunts after nothing but Errors ; a Creature that is displeased with good Sense, and is never in his Element but when he is over Head and Ears in Ordure.

THESE Kind of Authors are still more like the Critick ; for as the one seldom or never points out a Beauty in the Performance he is mangling, so the Political Moth takes care to throw

throw a Veil over that Measure which does Honour to an Administration, and perhaps detracts from it as much as possible, lessens the Value of it, or plumes some of his Patrons with the Honour of the Invention : This still shows their Spleen and Malice ; and vivits the Prejudice against them in the Minds of the most dispassionate Readers.

SUCH are the many Prejudices against this Kind of Writing, that, were it not for the Love of Novelty which prevails in the Vulgar, and the Pleasure these take to hear their Superiors railed at, very few would give themselves the Trouble to dip into any of this Kind of Controversy : This Humour, which is in their Favour, indeed creates a Demand for these Performances, and the Bookseller finds his Account in it ; but no body else : They seldom produce any Effect ; the Man of Sense despises them, because he sees through their Design ; the Mob only hears them, as they do a Ballad ; the Railing pleases, and furnishes such as have good Memories with Coffee-house Conversation ; but never goes any further, either in reforming or informing them.

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THOSE who write on the Side of the Administration are guilty of as many Errors, and generally have no better, if not a worse Character than those who write against them: They are supposed, and I believe with equal Justice, to be influenced by Court-Favours, either in Possession or *fieri*; they run into another Extreme than the Patriot Writers, they extol to the Skies every Measure that is projected at Court; they would have all the Benefit of Infallibility accrue to their Patron, without the Absurdity of claiming it: That is, They would have every Man argue *à posteriori*, that since such a Measure was taken by the Ministry, therefore it must be right, 'till the Event prove the contrary; even then sometimes they contend for the Wisdom of the Thing, and modestly charge Providence with not concurring in their Measures: But sometimes there are Truths so obstinate, as that they will not deny; then, if they cannot load Providence with the Blame, but not 'till then, they take as it were, the Benefit of their Clergy, and plead human Frailty.

THEY

THEY are equally culpable with their Adversaries in dealing in Personal Scandal, and most People allow them to outstrip them in that Mode of writing : As they have Authority upon their Side, they are not so much in Terror of being called to an Account for Abuses of this Kind, while they are sure to provoke their Adversary to some Indecency, for which they have the Pleasure of punishing him. In some late Years this infamous Practice of defaming the greatest Names with Impunity has been very much in Use, to the great Scandal of Men of Letters, this has hindered many otherways excellent Pieces from having any Effect, and been Matter of Triumph to those who wanted to distress the Ministry.

Besides all other Prejudices this Party has to combat with, in common with their Adversary, they have this one more, which, as I have hinted before, is the main Encouragement to all this Kind of Controversy; that is, the Pleasure the Mob take in hearing the Government rail'd at, for they can never with any Patience hear the Ministry vindicated ; this requires the Use of their reasoning

Faculties, does not immediately please the Ear, or touch the Passions; whereas the others, whether they inform their Understanding or not, are sure to rouse some of their Passions, and tickle their Vanity, by bringing lower those whom they think too much exalted above them.

THIS is the State at present of Politicks, the only Subject, together with Religion, worthy our Reasoning upon: So low is it dwindled, that it is become the Tool of Faction, the Instrument of Sedition, and in some Measure the Bane of Publick Tranquility.

How unhappy is it that a Man, who has any Inclination, to make himself acquainted with our Polity, is at a Loss where to address himself for the necessary Information; he finds so much Partiality on all Sides, such a Chain of Sophistry in all our Polemical Writings that it is like an *Herculean* Labour to come at the Truth, so deeply plunged in Error; he must wade through such a Sea of Partiality, Personal Scandal, and Licentious Railing, that he must have a Patriarchal Age, as well as Patience, to come at the End of the rude Labyrinth.

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HE finds, if he has the Patience to peruse the Tracts writ on this Subject, that every Thing is carried to Extremes ; the golden Mean is wanting : There is scarce any such Thing as finding an Author treating the Argument without Passion or Prejudice, of some Kind or other, if he writes of the present Times ; all Things are exaggerated, and the Publick left to grope in the Dark, about Matters of Fact which happened but yesterday, and in as much Incertainty about them as of the terrestrial Paradise.

AFTER this heavy Declamation against Political Writers, it may be queried, How I come to associate myself with Men to whom I give so bad a Character ? or, what Credentials I can produce that should make me flatter myself that I shall not meet their Fate, and be treated by the Publick with the same Contempt which I think they deserve ?

EVERY Man flatters himself, that he is possessed of certain Qualifications which he sees wanting in others ; he is frequently deceived ; but more frequently attempts to deceive the Publick, and often borrows a Dress
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like the Player, to act the Character he assumes. Whether I deceive myself or not, I am not so certain when I flatter myself that I am possessed of that impartial Disposition so necessary to Writers of any Sort, and much more so to one who treats of this Subject; but I am sure that I must be deceived myself, before I attempt to impose that Belief upon the Publick, without appealing to their Judgment, by the Manner in which I treat the Matter.

THAT it is very rare to meet with an impartial Writer, I grant; but that there are such is as certain as there are impartial Judges: And, without supposing this last, Deceit must go in an eternal Circle, and nothing but Error and Falshood prevail on Earth.

THE great Dispute which at present takes up the Publick Attention, is the present WAR with *France*, and the Invasion in Consequence of it. How far the present Ministry are to be blamed for involving the Nation in it, the Interest *Britain* has in the Dispute, and the Manner in which it is conducted, in my Opinion, exhausts the whole Subject.

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As to the Ministry, taking them collectively, I think their greatest Enemies must acquit them of it; since we were engaged in the War when they came into the Administration. At their first Setting-out, those in the greatest Power and Interest among them gave out, and endeavoured to perswade those they engaged in their Interest, that they would attempt to get out of it as soon as possible: Upon the Faith of those Promises, many Persons, whose Integrity has never yet been suspected, accepted of Places, and espoused the Interest of the present Leaders, well knowing, that to whatever Misconduct our Misfortunes were owing, that it must be the Work of Time to obtain a thorough Rectification.

THIS was a Confidence these Gentlemen must have put in whatever Persons were trusted with the Administration of Affairs; therefore they could neither be charged with Credulity, or acting contrary to their former Professions, if they continued to put the Ministry in Mind of their Engagements, and gave their Advice to pursue such wise Measures as they thought would produce an honourable and lasting Peace;

Peace ; which, every Man must allow, could neither be expected nor obtained without making such Preparations as would enduce our Enemies to believe, that we would prosecute the War with Vigour.

THAT there are some in the Ministry, who, by joining in former Councils, have been accessary in reducing the Nation to such Circumstances as makes War less our Interest, however just, is past all Doubt ; but that the whole Blame of our being so rashly involved as Principals in the present Quarrels, must lye upon him who was last discarded, I take to be equally uncontraverted.

I think it the Interest of every Subject in *Great Britain*, to be jealous of every Ministry, since it is from their Hands all our Misfortunes must flow, as well as our Happiness ; 'tis they only we can call to Account for Misconduct, and against them all our Resentments ought to be pointed, when Guilt or Treachery accompanies Error.

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FOR my Part, I must confess, I am apt to carry this Jealousy as far as most Men; so much I am prepossessed, that I cannot say that ever I found a Ministry that either entirely pleased myself, or others; and I believe never shall. As long as his Majesty must chuse his Servants among Mortals, I fancy there will always, some of them, pursue Measures inconsistent with his Honour, and the Good of the People: That there are as many of this Sort in the present Administration, as ever was in any former, I believe I may venture to admit, without incurring a *Premunire*; and I think it is as large a Concession, as their most violent Adversaries can well require; yet when we have allowed all this, it is unmerciful to condemn them in the Lump, to charge the whole Body with the Crimes of Particulars, or even Individuals, for what they might be oblig'd to consent to, perhaps against their Judgment, when the Ministry was otherways model'd. This I think sufficient to say, with Regard to the Hand the Ministry had in involving us in the *French* War; how far they have kept their Promise in endeavouring to free us from this Calamity,

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will fall to be examined in treating of the Manner it has been conducted.

As to the Interest which *Great Britain* has in the present Quarrels on the Continent, this Subject has been treated by my Brother Writers with a great deal of needless Warmth, and a prodigious deal of Pains taken to stir up Popular Prejudices against it; the Eye of the Publick has been always artfully turned from the proper Subject of Enquiry, and directed to some fanciful Circumstances relating to *Hanover*, which they have played Changes upon so long, that they have quite tired out the Subject, and have nothing left now but to repeat the same Things over again, without any new Light or Argument.

I shall fairly admit, that, as of the Ministry, so we ought to be jealous of the Encroachments of *Hanover*, and cautious how we are made the Instruments of her ambitious or revengeful Purposes, if any such are discovered: We ought, I own, to be more upon our Guard against her, than any one of our Allies, because she has confessedly Opportunities of imposing upon us, and twisting her
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Interest with ours, that no other Power upon Earth has. But we must not attempt to carry this Jealousy to too great a Length; we are not to charge her with what she is by no Means accountable; we are not to treat her as our greatest Enemy, because the nearest connected with us, in the Person of one common Sovereign; we must at least treat her as an Ally, upon whose Assistance we may naturally depend, and whose Interest we are to protect, in Proportion to the Assistance we may naturally expect.

IF we are supposed to want Alliances on the Continent, (and, I think, I have never met with any Man so weak as to deny that) we must be at the Expence of protecting them, in Proportion to the Protection we expect from them: Why *Hanover* should not prove as natural an Ally as any other of the *German* Princes, in Proportion to her Power, is a Mystery I own I cannot understand.

ON the contrary, I think her the most natural, and considering her as an Ally by far the least expensive; we find none of them, however nearly connected with us in Interest,

that will favour us with their Alliance without the Bribe of a Subsidy, tho' the greatest Part of our Concern on the Continent is to hinder them from oppressing and swallowing up one another ; yet we find most of them take our Money in Time of Peace, and desert us when we have most Occasion to depend upon their Assistance. This is not the Case of *Hanover* ; she is our Ally without Fee or Reward ; and we may naturally expect the Assistance of her whole Strength in Time of Necessity, without the Expence of a Subsidy in Time of Peace.

BUT the Publick has of late Years been wrought up to that Height of Jealousy, or rather Frenzy, that tho' we want Mercenaries, yet we will rather have them of any other State, nay, be entirely without them than employ the Troops of that Electorate : I own I am so stupid, that I never could find any rational Account could be given for this Partiality, or why they should be discharged out of our Service, unless in Compliance with that peevish Humour of the Vulgar, taken up without Cause, and encouraged without any one solid Reason.

I grant

I grant, that a wise Government ought to pay a very great Regard to Popular Prejudice, however whimsically founded, and sometimes make Concessions on that Score, to gratify the Humours of a free People ; but I never can allow that a Writer, who professedly sets out with a Design to inform the Publick, should give Way to such Weaknesses, much less endeavour to foment these very Discontents, arising from such unreasonable Prepossessions.

CAN any Man in his Wits seriously assign a Reason, why the *Danes*, *Hessians*, *Munsterians*, or *Saxagothans*, should prove better Mercenaries than the Troops of the Electorate of *Hanover* ! As to the Difference in Men with respect to Courage, every Man of Sense knows, that Courage and Cowardice are no general Characteristick of any Nation under the Sun ; that they are common to all Countries, whatever vulgar Notions there are to the contrary ; and I have so good an Opinion of *Hanover*, (for which I hope the Publick will forgive me) that I believe they have as much innate Courage as any other *Germans*, I will not venture to say as much as the *English* ;

and I never heard it alledged, that they had not as good Discipline.

HOWEVER unreasonable the Prejudice against the Subjects of that Electorate may be, yet we are certain that by it we lose the Advantage we might reap from their near Connection with us ; and I think the greatest Ground of this Prejudice, or at least the Arguments those use most who want to promote it, is, that the present War is wholly their Quarrel.

THOSE who argue upon this Head, take it as a *Postulatum* ; that, if we were quit of this Incumbrance, we should have nothing at all to do with the Continent : When they have thus beg'd the Question, it is easy to draw Conclusions from such Premises ; and then they give full Scope to their declamatory Talent, and never fail to make a lamentable Story, having supposed that they have fully proved what they have only taken for granted.

IN order to remove this Prejudice as much as possible, I shall allow the Abettors of this Opinion as much as it is reasonable for them

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to desire me to grant: That is, that if we were not so nearly concerned with *Hanover* as we really are, or if that Electorate was in the Hands of any other Sovereign, not King of *Great Britain*, we should be much less concerned with the Quarrels on the Continent than we really are; That it is possible we may be much more often engaged to protect that Ally, and espouse her Interest, than that of any other Ally whatever; because, as often as *Great Britain* may have incurred the Displeasure of any of the greater States on the Continent, that Electorate will be sure to be the first Thing attacked, in order to engage us in their Quarrel. This is a Misfortune to us, and no less a Misfortune to *Hanover*; for, by this Means, she may often suffer for our Sins, when she has none of her own to answer for; the great States round about her will always treat her as the Tutors of Princes flog the favorite Domestick, whenever the Prince deserves Correction.

BUT, having allowed all this, it goes no Length to prove, that the present War is a *Hanover-War*, or that *Great Britain* has no Interest in the present Broils of *Europe*, distinct

tinct from that State. If upon reviewing our History for this Century or more backwards, since we have become a trading People, it appeared, that we never had been engaged in any War upon the Continent, or that the Nation had always constantly and uniformly objected to such Wars, I should allow this to go a great Length towards proving what is with so much Earnestness contended for; but if we have many Instances, almost in every Reign since the Accession of *James* the First, of this Nation's Interfering, in Support of the Balance of Power upon the Continent. If we find even the People as anxiously suing for War with *France*, as they did lately for that with *Spain*, such Instances will at least prove that Circumstances may concur to make War necessary, though there was not such a State in Existence as the *Electorate of Hanover*, and should have this Influence on the People to suspend their Judgment as to the present War, 'till they had enquired, If or not those Circumstances that formerly made War necessary, or simular ones, existed or not? and ought to oblige the Writers on that Side to bring undeniable Proofs, that nothing else but the Interest of *Hanover* either engaged us
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in, or retarded the Conclusion of the present War.

To point out those Times that we were engaged in a War, as deeply as at the present Time, when we had no other Object to pursue but what we have now, would be needless; every Man's Memory will furnish him with Instances in his own Time, without looking further back into remoter Periods, where the whole Strength of the Kingdom has been employ'd, without any other Design but to support the Liberty of *Europe*, and check the exorbitant Power of *France*, who had then, as now, prepared Chains for all her neighbouring States. We had no Connection with the bugbear *Hanover* then; yet our Blood and Treasure was as freely spent in the Quarrels of our Neighbours at that Time, without any of the mighty Clamours that at present prevail: The Nation then chearfully submitted to Taxes unknown to their Forefathers, in Support of the Interest of the House of *Austria*, our most natural *Ally*, and mortgaged their new and old Revenues, for Ages to come, to purchase a Barrier for the *Dutch*, and secure

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them from the Encroachments of all-devouring *France*; and yet I do not find that one Writer in those Days exclaimed against the Necessity of a War; they were agreed in that Point, however they might differ as to the Manner of conducting it.

France, for two or three Centuries backward, has been grasping at all the Power she could catch at, and has in that Period devoured many Sovereignities that lay round about her, 'till she has, within these Hundred Years, found herself in a Condition to attempt to give Laws to all the rest of *Europe*. Her Progress has been amazing; and had it not been for *Great Britain*, there is no manner of Doubt but she had been long ere now, in Possession of so much Power as would nearly resemble Universal Monarchy. Before *Lewis* the Fourteenth she only contended for Territory; but during his, and since his Time, she has had another Object in View, that is *Commerce*: her Progress in that Branch, in that short Period, has been more surprizing than the other; it renders the great Territory she possesses of greater Consequence, and engages the Attention of *Great Britain* more to watch her Motions.

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WAS she to accumulate Kingdom after Kingdom, if she had no Commerce, *Great Britain* would have but little to fear; the very Weight of her Acquisitions might sink her to the Ebb we want; but while she continues with such Success to be our Rival in Traffick, she cannot be too much the Object of our Fears.

THE Conquest of *Flanders*, without respect to Trade, would doubtless be an Acquisition sufficient to tempt a Monarch less greedy of Conquest than that of *France*; but when we consider how commodious these Provinces are for Trade and Navigation, and what an Opportunity their Harbours would give to the *French*, to enlarge their already too much enlarged Naval Force, *Britain* must be blind to her own Interest, if she sat tamely, looking on, while the Enemy devoured this delicious and long coveted Morfel.

IF upon this Account then *France* must be constantly look'd upon as our most inveterate and dangerous Enemy, a War contracted to hinder the Encrease of her Strength, and reduce her within such Bounds as must make

her cease to be a Terror to her Neighbours; must by every true *Briton* be look'd upon as a National and natural War, upon the Success of which our very Being and Existence, as a State, mediately depends.

IF we argue in this Manner coolly, all the other little Circumstances, that foment our own Divisions and puzzle our Councils, must necessarily vanish. In this Temper, *Hanover* can be look'd upon in no other Light than as an Auxiliary, or an Ally, whose Fate, tho' nearer than ours, yet has no more to lose, by the Event, nay, rather less than we have. *Hanover* has no Trade, to fear the Loss of; and should she change Masters, she must still continue a Slave to arbitrary Power, while we have Trade, and what is more valuable, Religion and Liberty at stake.

THUS I shall take the Liberty to suppose the present War with *France* national, natural, and necessary; a War, wherein we have more to lose than any other Nation on Earth; and consequently, that it ought to employ our strictest Attention, and be prosecuted with the utmost Vigour.

I wish

I wish it was in my Power to justify the Wisdom of the Measures pursued in conducting the War, with as much Satisfaction to myself as I think I have proved the Necessity of the War in general. That there have been Errors, fatal Errors, or rather one continued Error, I am afraid, is some of these unwelcome Truths the Publick must know, and of which they ought to be slow of Belief; though, on the contrary, I find that every Thing of this Kind goes down with the Generality with great Facility, and is credited without the smallest Examination. Does a Mail bring bad News from *Flanders*, these Paragraphs, however shocking, however improbable, are taken for Gospel; nay, some seem angry to be undeceived in these Points, while they are downright Scepticks in any Thing that promises Success to our Arms.

I am not of Opinion that these People are Emissaries of *France*, or Enemies to the State, the Thing is too universal for such a Supposition; it would be as unreasonable, as to believe, that the Generality were in League against themselves; but I apprehend it owing to that Prejudice which I have hitherto been
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combating, founded on that false Supposition, that we have not the least Interest in the present Question, and that the War is wholly on Account of *Hanover*, against whom they have been brought to entertain a mortal Averfion. But to the Point :

THE grand Complaint against the Conduct of the War is, that it is made a Land-War : few People, when kept to the true State of the Question, will argue against the War in general : if they have once had their Fling at *Hanover*, and hung their Charges upon that Common Topick, and are prefs'd, they will admit that *France* ought still to be kept low ; but it must be by a Naval War, which is our Element, and not a Land-War, for which we are not in this Age cut out.

It is impossible to deny, but that the natural Strength of *Great Britain* lies in her Naval Force ; and considering our Situation in an Island, we can scarce afford any other effectual Assistance to our Neighbours but in that Way : Yet from thence it does not follow, that we ought not to send Troops abroad, or that we should never be engaged in a Land-

a Land-War in any Measure; in that Case, our Alliance on the Continent would be of no Signification to any State, but those who had Sea-Coasts to defend, which is the Case of very few of them with whom we are nearly connected; all that the most Sanguine can expect to be allowed them, on this Head, is, that our main Dependance for Defence should be on our Shipping; that those Troops we employ Abroad, in Defence of our Allies, must be as few as possible, and these for the greatest Part Mercenaries; and that we ourselves should never, if possible, or except in the last Extremity, pretend to carry on an offensive War on the Continent, but as Auxiliaries, to those Allies in whose Quarrel we engage.

Now, to apply this to the present, when our Troops first went to *Flanders*, they went only as Auxiliaries to the Queen of *Hungary*; tho' they have since become Principals, by the King of *France's* Declaration of War against *Great Britain*. Whether we were not in too great a Hurry to send over those Troops, before we were justly prepared to support them against all probable Events, I will

not take upon me to determine ; only by the Event one would think so, and that this was the fatal Source of all our other Misfortunes, for which the Negotiation of *Worms* is certainly answerable. But now they are there, by the Means of those who are not now in the Ministry, we must suppose that they must be supported in the best Manner we can, and made as useful to the Common Cause as possible ; Railing then against that Event is to no Purpose, it is now too late. I confess, these Troops ought either to be better supported, or it would be better they had never been sent there ; that they are not supported is owing to the unaccountable Delays of our Allies, on whom we had all the Reason in the World to depend, if their own apparent Interest could be any Inducement to keeping their Faith.

THIS Slothfulness of our Allies I have often heard offered as an unanswerable Argument, why we should have sent no Troops to that Part, since those who were more immediately concerned did not see it necessary ; But if we examine this with the least Attention, we shall find that it has no Weight.

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The *French* King has an Army at hand, ready to devour the *Austrian Netherlands*, which is confessedly a Barrier to us, as well as the *Dutch*; the Queen of *Hungary* is not able to support her Possessions of herself; the *Dutch* delay to furnish their Quota, for the Defence of the Common Cause; does it follow that *Great Britain* ought to be equally disregarded of the most solemn Treaties, and her own Interest, and tamely see *France* run away with these Countries, the Possession of which will enable her, when she pleases, to invade us both in our Trade and Liberty? On the contrary, I am so far from thinking, that either the Treachery or bad Policy of the *Dutch* should slacken our Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, that it ought to animate us to exert our whole Strength to support her; that is, if it is Policy to support her at all. For, to illustrate this Matter, suppose the *Dutch* should join with *France*, and help her to conquer all *Flanders*, and their own Barriers, would *Britain* stand Spectator in such a Scene? Would it not be her Wisdom, to associate all *Europe*, and furnish all her own Strength, to divert the Blow? I believe none will be weak enough to say, that if such an

Event happen'd, we must be oblig'd to submit, since our Friends the *Dutch* would not help us : If this would be the Case in such an Event, where lies the Difference at present ? only that, between false Friends, and open Enemies ; which last I cannot say, but in the private Affairs of Life, I should chuse ; and I fancy, it is much the same in Political Life.

THE *Dutch* are constantly represented, as the Party that ought to guard the *Austrian* Possessions in the *Netherlands* ; that they are primarily interested is without Doubt, but that we have a direct as well as a consequential Interest in them, is equally true ; from whence I conclude, tho' the *Dutch* do not, nor should not be able to protect them, that therefore we are not tamely to yield them to the Conqueror.

So far then a Land-War is necessary, as Matters are at present situated ; tho' I confess, that had it been possible, to have satisfied her Majesty of *Hungary* with a less Contingent of Land-Forces, the Remainder of ours might have been better employed somewhere else, to annoy the Enemy. Ten Thousand
Men

Men on Board our Fleet, hovering over the Coast of *France*, would be a much more powerful Diversion, than double that Number could give in *Flanders*; because the Uncertainty when such an Armament would land, would oblige the *French* King to keep five times that Number of his Troops, to guard the Coasts of his Kingdom, which he is now at free Liberty to employ in the *Low Countries*; but as we have been situated ever since the first Embarkation, we have not had it in our Power to make such a Diversion; therefore, however advantageous such or the like Measures might be, we are not to exclaim against the Ministry, because they have not wrought Impossibilities: That our Fleet might have been rendered, and may still be of more Service to the Publick, is indisputable; and this I take to be one of the most glaring Instances of Negligence in those entrusted with the Administration, and the least capable of being accounted for.

THE Want of Experience in our Generals, and Officers is another Subject of Complaint, founded on just enough Principles; but carried too far. If the best that we have (or

will consent to be employ'd) are entrusted with the Management of our Military Affairs, it may be our Misfortune, but can never be imputed as a Crime. The Art of War is not to be attained by Study, or acquired by Intuition ; it is Experience, attended with a natural Bent of the Genius that Way, which constitutes the General. We have had so long Peace, that those old Generals, who had these Advantages, in the last War, are now dead, and their Successors have not had Opportunities to acquire Knowledge by Experience ; and besides there is actually, tho' we are loath to acknowledge it, a great Decay of that ancient Military Genius, which distinguished our Forefathers. Formerly, our Nobility and Gentry, if their Country's Cause did not call them to the Exercise of Arms, went into the Service of Foreign States, to learn the Art of War, as a necessary Accomplishment ; but now the Case is altered, as I think, the present Age can furnish but one Instance of a Nobleman serving abroad, as a Volunteer, to qualify himself for his Country's Service. Is it strange then, that we have no Officers ? But the Complaint was the same, at the Beginning of King *William's* Wars ;

Wars ; and then our Success was not bad only for a Campaign or two, but continued during all that Reign. Tho' Queen ANNE's Wars, so fortunate and glorious to this Island, had the Advantage of many brave old Officers, at first setting out ; yet the first two or three Campaigns we lost great Numbers of Men, before the Army in general became inured to, and acquainted with War. This Reflection ought, at least, to lessen our Apprehensions, with relation to our present Losses ; since they are such as does not put us out of all Hope, of retrieving our late Misfortunes. Our Generals are gaining Experience ; If the Enemy has better Generals than we at present, it is very probable that they may beat us into all the Knowledge we want.

THE very Losses, we complain of, may induce our Allies, to think in Earnest, of supporting the Common Cause of *Europe*. As Divine Providence has been pleased to raise the *Grand Duke* to the Imperial Dignity, and united all the *German* Princes in one Common Interest against *France* ; by these Means, Her Majesty of *Hungary* will be enabled to employ her Forces, now in *Germany*, in Defence

fence of *Flanders*. *Hanibal* is not yet at our Gates. Our Case is not so desperate, that we have any Reason to despond, or be induced to enter into an inglorious or precarious Peace. There is still Funds sufficient to carry on the War with Vigour, 'till a safe and honourable Peace can be obtained, without the Addition of any new Taxes. The easy Interest, at which the Government can raise Money, is an undeniable Proof, that the Money'd Interest of this Nation has a well-founded Faith in the Government-Security; and while that subsists, this Kingdom can never be at a Loss for Money, to supply her necessary Emergencies.

A frugal Management of our Finances, and a steady Pursuit of those Measures we enter into, will always continue that Credit so necessary for our Support; but above all, a hearty Union amongst ourselves must enable us to baffle all the Attempts of our Foreign Enemies. It is absolutely certain, *Britain* can never be undone, but by herself; while we are united in one Common Interest, she is above the Attempts of her most powerful Enemies. To promote this Union, ought to be

be the Study of every Subject in his Sphere ; and much more of those who take upon them to treat of Politicks : If Writings of this Kind can be of any Use, they must be directed to that great End. An ill-natured carping Humour, that only shews the dark and dismal Part of the Prospect, can produce no Effect, but alarm our Fears, and awaken unnecessary Apprehensions among the People ; a continual Railing at the Ministry, and their Measures, can serve only to impress the Vulgar with a mean Notion of Government, weaken the Hands of the Administration, and deprive His Majesty of the Affection as well as the Confidence of his Subjects. At all Times Union amongst ourselves is necessary, and ought to be promoted by all Persons, who take upon them to write for the Information of the Publick ; but at this Period of Time, when a formidable Rebellion is on Foot in the Nation, he who endeavours to create any Diffidence between His Majesty and the People, or loses any proper Opportunity of inculcating upon the Minds of his Fellow-Subjects the absolute Necessity of a firm Union amongst themselves, ought to be esteemed an Enemy to his Country, and a

Betrayer of those Liberties which our Forefathers established for us, at the Expence of their best Blood.

ON this Occasion it is necessary for us to lay aside all our little Animosities, all our Party-Distinctions, which have been artfully kept up amongst us, to cherish and keep alive those Seeds of Rebellion, which are now broke out amongst us. It is not Errors of Administration we are now to fix our Attention upon, or the Pleasure some of us may take in baiting the Ministry, in order to turn them out of such Places as we want to enjoy. Our Liberty, our Religion, and the whole Frame of our happy Constitution is now struck at, and call aloud for our warmest Endeavours to support them.

A supine lazy Neutrality, at this Period, is as criminal as open Rebellion; those Men who have Interest in their several Counties, and amongst their Friends and Dependants, ought without Loss of Time to manifest their Zeal and Affection to the present Establishment. This is the Criterion by which every real Patriot will distinguish himself from

from the Counterfeit, and the only Means by which he can acquire an uncontroverted Title to that glorious Name; whatever Crimes they may have to load former Ministers with, whatever Quarrels and Exceptions they may have to the present Ministry, these they must now lay aside; for as those Errors they complain of are not supposed to be adopted by the Sovereign as Maxims of Government, they must never pretend to have any Affection for the Establishment, if they do not manifest it now, by zealously entering into Measures to support His Majesty in the peaceable Possession of the Throne of these Realms.

THAT there are a Number of People in these Kingdoms, discontented and dissatisfied with the Measures of some late Ministers, I believe is but too true; and that there has been too much Grounds given by the Ministry for these Discontents, is likewise as true; and consequently there are among the Number of the Discontented many Men of great Integrity, and approved Loyalty to His Majesty and the present Establishment, upon true and honest *Revolution-Principles*; now, it is to be hoped, that such Persons will neither

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join those who would bring about a new *Revolution*, or prove their Abettors, by sitting idle at this Critical Conjunction, in *Odium* of the Ministry, with whose Measures we shall suppose them justly incensed.

FOR, supposing that there are some Errors crept into the Administration, that have become in a Manner constitutional, and require at all other Times the strongest Endeavours of every honest *Briton* to rectify ; I say, supposing this ; yet it is the Interest of those, who are most sensible of this, to support the present Establishment ; as it is demonstrable, that if these Rectifications are not obtained from the present Family, they can never be obtained by restoring the banished *House of Stewart* ; but on the contrary, that the small Remains of Liberty which is left us, must be swallowed up in *Popish* Errors and arbitrary Power. What Favour can these People expect, I mean Men noted for *Revolution-Principles*, from a Prince of the *House of Stewart*, educated at the Fountain of *Popish* Errors, and brought up in a Country where the Name of Liberty has been an utter Stranger for many Centuries ? Is it not natural

tural to expect, that he must pour out his heaviest Vengeance on the Heads of those who projected the Ruin of his Royal House ; and on those who from their avow'd Principles deny his darling hereditary Right, and allow Kings to enjoy their Office only by that too rigid Tenure, *Quamdiu se bene gesserint*.

MEN happily possess'd of such Principles, (whatever Accident may have cooled their Zeal for the Publick Good) cannot be so blind to their own Interest, as Individuals, as not to see, that, whosoever else escapes the general Shipwreck, they must inevitably perish. Such as these his Majesty may depend upon, as zealous active Friends to his House ; since both Publick Utility and Private Interest serve to unite their Affections.

As to the *Dissenters*, they have on all Occasions expressed a zealous Attachment to the present Establishment, founded on their own Safety ; for it must appear plain to every Man of them, that a Toleration, which is all they can expect from any Government, is much more to be depended upon from a *Protestant* Government, than from the persecuting Spirit
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of a *Popish* Court, who must be directed in all their Measures by the fiery Zeal of unfor- giving Priests.

THE Appearance they have made in Opposition to the *House of Stewart*, and in Support of the *Church of England*, must always be objected to them by the inveterate Enemies of that Church, and their own Principles ; they must be persuaded, that the Ruin of the *Church of England* must be attended with theirs. They have already experienced the mild Disposition of the *Church of England*, and their Forefathers the Fury of the *Church of Rome* ; therefore, however they may stomach the *Test Act*, which is all the rational Complaint they have, it is to be hoped, they will now exert themselves in the Common Cause ; from whence they may naturally hope, from this fresh Instance of their Zeal and Attachment, to be eased of that which they think their greatest Burthen ; for by a hearty Concurrence, at this Time, with the Measures concerted to support the Establishment, they may build rational Hopes of being freed from that Distinction ; whereas, if by Remissness they show themselves indifferent, and weaken

weaken the Hands of the Government, they may expect greater Hardships : That is plainly, by the Continuance of the Establishment they have something to hope for, that may better their Circumstances ; whereas, from a Change, nothing but Misery and Persecution.

THE *Scots* have still more Reason to be hearty in His Majesty's Interest. They enjoy a Legal Establishment at present, after their own Form ; whereas, upon a Change, the most they can expect is an uneasy Toleration, either from the *Church of Rome*, or the *Episcopal Clergy*, who are both equally their inveterate Enemies. The Restraint the *Church* has laid upon the *Episcopal Clergy* in that Kingdom ever since the *Revolution*, has soured their Spirits ; and I do not find that *Clergy*, of any Kind, are of a very forgiving Temper.

IF they do not see *Popish* Images and Altars make their *Pageant* Entry into their Churches, they must at least expect to see the Bishops resume their Sees, and the outed Clergy their Benefices. It is well known, that there is a titular Bishop for every See in
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Scotland, regularly nominated by the *Pretender*; these Men will, no Doubt, expect more than titular Benefices; they must have substantial Tithes, and perhaps Pluralities, to atone for their Long-Sufferings, and indefatigable Labours, in keeping the Cause warm, and fomenting the present Confusion.

WHAT then must be the Case of the *Kirk*? She must starve, and her Fathers go a begging, to the Door of these very Men they formerly despised; and the Laity must again return under a Spiritual Yoke, riveted by tyrannical spiritual Courts, and dreadful Excommunications, Curses, that are not to be laught at, as at present; since Church-Censure, as formerly, must affect their Estates, and not confine themselves to the ludicrous Dimensions of a *Repenting Stool*.

THIS is but a faint Image of the State of Religion, upon a Change; let us view the State of Civil Government. The King, together with Hereditary Right, has a Claim of Conquest; both which, if we admit, it would be the grossest Absurdity to expect the least Shadow of Liberty, or any Laws, but
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such as are dictated by the arbitrary Whim of a despotick Prince.

COULD they flatter themselves, that they would still have the Shadow they enjoyed under *James* the First, and the *Charles's*; yet, what is that? A dreadful Prospect! A Privy Council becomes the sovereign Court of Judicature, composed of Creatures of a Court ready to execute the basest Purposes. Where then is Property? is it to be found where the Judges must be ignorant of the Laws, and that it is more than ten to one, that they are Knaves?

To inveigle some of the Unthinking, the Union has been represented as a National Grievance, which the young *Pretender* means to dissolve. This is a Trap to catch the Rabble, to whom the Pomp and Figure of a Court must, no Doubt, be agreeable; but the Thinking Part of the *Scotch* Nation can never be so blind, as to be bubbled into such a wild Notion.

I shall take the Liberty to grant, that the Commissioners of the *Treaty of Union* were too rash, and did not in some Cases maturely weigh

weigh the Interest of both Nations ; and that it might have been concerted with a more Popular Aspect ; I shall likewise admit, that in *Queen Anne's* Time there were some unjudicious Attempts, to infringe some of these Articles ; yet, for all this, it does not follow, that a Dissolution of the *Union* would be in any Measure eligible for *Scotland* ; because such a Dissolution would cause such Confusion, as it would be morally impossible for that Kingdom to recover.

THEY must lose all their Trade, in which they have made considerable Progress since the *Union* ; many Thousands of Families now depend upon it, that knew nothing of these Advantages before that Period. Their black Cattle must lie upon their Hands, and consequently the *Highlanders*, who are now so officious, must starve for their mistaken Zeal, and ill-timed Courage ; and the Linnen Manufacture of *Scotland*, which is now their Staple-Commodity, must dwindle to its original Nothing, as they have not our Plantations to carry them to. How then must all Sorts of People live ? The Kingdom cannot subsist within itself without Commerce, which
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they cannot carry on with any other Power on Earth, but the *English*. Their Linen Cloth, which is all their Export, can be vended in no Part of *Europe* but here, or our Plantations: *France* can take nothing from them, but must drain them of their Treasure for meer Luxury; and to be sure, it will be the Interest of that Crown, always to keep them poor, that they may be the properer Tools for them, as they formerly were.

THE *Nobility* and *Gentry* will not find that Support they do now in the *British* Government, and in the Army, and Navy, where they enjoy (and I must say deservedly) more than their Proportion of Places: Their own Government cannot supply them with so many nor so lucrative Employments as they are now possess'd of. If these are the Difficulties in private Life, what must the Condition of the STATE be? They cannot expect to have one single Shilling less Taxes; because the Revenue arising from the Taxes will not be sufficient to supply the Necessities of Government.

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I shall venture to compute the whole Revenue in *Scotland*, arising from the Crown-Domains and all other Kind of Taxes, at 250000 *l.* which is all they have to supply the Civil List, Navy, Army, Guards, Garrisons, Publick Embassies, with a long Train of &c's, that attend a Publick Establishment.

HOWEVER small this Revenue may be, yet I take it upon me to affirm, that it is the Outside of all the Nation raises; and how trifling a Figure that must make in a Sovereign Independent State, I allow all wise Men to judge, especially, considering that even that must diminish, by the Decay of Trade.

I know it is a grateful Subject to a *Scotchman*, over a Bottle, to talk of an Independent *Scotch* Kingdom; but if he is a wise Man, he must consider that their King must be but a Pensioner and a Tool to some more powerful Prince, and his Subjects Beggars; when he considers this, he will certainly prefer the real Blessings of Plenty, wherein they are now, to the imaginary Pleasures of Purpled Beggary.

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THAT Nation are a brave and warlike People, and before the *Union* of the Crown made a considerable Figure in *Europe*; but why? the Nations about her were as poor as herself, and their Grandeur consisted in their Military Genius, of which the *Scotch* had as great a Share as any of them: But now the Case is altered, the *States* of *Europe* are become rich in Money, Trade, and foreign Colonies, of which the *Scotch* now has not one; the Expences of Sovereign States have encreased, as Money encreased; so that now, single and disjoin'd from *England*, they must make a prodigious mean Figure in *Europe*.

WHAT a Deluge of Misery then does the Mob of that Kingdom intend to bring upon themselves? and how unaccountable is it, to see so many great Men of that Kingdom idling away their Time, while a Handfull of *Highlanders* are dealing out their Possessions, and attempting to entail Misery on their latest Posterity. The Number of the Enemy is not so considerable, as to justify the Pannick which has seized that Part of the Kingdom. I conclude them about Seven Thousand, which I compute, not from publick Re-

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ports, but from the Knowledge I have, what Number that Part of the *Highlands* which have joined them can raise ; , the greatest Part of the Shire of *Argyle*, I look upon as stanch to the Government ; most of the Shire of *Inverness*, all *Ross*, *Sutherland* and *Caithness* ; some of the *M'Kenzies* may be refractory, but the Generality with their Chief are quiet ; all the *M'Donald's* of the Island of *Lewis* and *Sky* are at their own Homes, as likewise the *M'Leans*. These Parts then of themselves, if they are properly encouraged, are able to raise a sufficient Number to cope with, I mean beat those that are now in Arms ; and it is to be hoped that Great Men, who have Interest in these Parts, will lay aside their little Disgusts, if any subsist, and show themselves in their own Country, to animate their Vassals, where they may be of more Service than at St. J——s's. I own it, I cannot see a *Scotchman* of Rank in this Capital at present, but I fancy him out of his Sphere, and could wish him somewhere else, more active, where there is so much at stake. As to their overrunning the *Low Countries*, it was neither Strength on their Side, nor Disaffection in the People, but that the Possession of

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the Places was not in Reality worth the Contesting : As it is impossible to fortify them, so the Possession of them must always belong to those who are Masters of the Field. The Misfortune of General *Cope* may possibly throw a little Damp on the King's Friends, yet if we consider that that was owing at least to an Oversight of Some-body's, the Thing is retrievable ; the Loss of a few Men has been dearly purchased by them, in the Death of the Duke of *Pertb*, whose Life was to them certainly worth Two Thousand Men ; since all his Followers will now desert, as they were in a manner press'd into the Service.

THESE Considerations ought to encourage every true *Briton*, to unite with one another, and give a finishing Stroke to the restless Enemies of our *Constitution*.

WHILE we are a free People, Errors in the Administration of Publick Affairs ought, and I hope always will, be animadverted upon ; but they should be pointed out, with a View to their being amended ; without any Intention to serve the mean and wicked Designs

signs of a Faction. Was this Spirit to run through all our Publick Writings, I am convinced, the Nation would not be impressed with so many unreasonable Prejudices. Many of our Misfortunes would have been prevented, and the Effects of those which could not be avoided would not be so sensibly felt, or so much magnified.

How far I have succeeded in following these Rules, which I have prescribed to others, I fairly submit to the Censure of the Publick. I meant strictly to follow them; and I flatter myself, that I have as little Byas upon my Mind as any Man. I thank God, I have no Connection with the Ministry, nor any Dependance on any Party, or Sett of Men; the Publick Good is my only Aim, in this small Treatise; and while I am conscious that I keep that in View, I have neither Hopes nor Fears about the Consequence.



